

FOLKWAYS RECORDS FH 5538 VOLUME TWO

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Produced by Mical Whitaker
Producer: Ossie Davis and
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What If I Am A Woman?
Black Women's Speeches Narrated By Ruby Dee
With An Introduction By Ossie Davis

IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT
FANNIE LEE CHANEY
SHIRLEY CHISHOLM
MRS. MARTIN LUTHER KING
ANGELA DAVIS
CORETTA SCOTT KING

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ARE INSIDE POCKET

COVER DESIGN BY RONALD CLYNE

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WHAT IF I AM A WOMAN ? BLACK WOMEN'S SPEECHES / RUBY DEE

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What If I Am A Woman?

RUBY DEE

Ruby Dee has been an actress for many years. In film, she perhaps is best remembered for *Gone Are The Days*, written from her husband, Ossie Davis' play *Purlie Victorious*; *A Raisin In The Sun* by Lorraine Hansberry; for *Buck and the Preacher* with Poitier and Belafonte; and for *The Jackie Robinson Story*.

Some television films include *Wedding Band* by Alice Childress, first produced at the New York Shakespeare Festival under the aegis of Joe Papp; *It's Good To Be Alive*, the Roy Campanella story; and *To Be Young, Gifted and Black*, from writings by Lorraine Hansberry.

She has been in such plays as *Anna Lucasta*; *A Raisin In The Sun*; *Boesman and Lena*, by Athol Fugard, which won her an Obie; *Purlie Victorious*; and *Wedding Band*, for which she won the Drama Desk Award.

She is currently heard on 65 stations throughout the Country on the Kraft Foods sponsored *Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee Story Hour*, over the National Black Network. She and her husband recently filmed "Countdown at Kusini" in Nigeria, under the sponsorship of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. She has recorded poems and stories for Caedmon, Educa.-Audio-Visual; Columbia and others. She and her husband have also co-produced a television special for young folks, *Today Is Ours*, based on her book *Glowchild*. They give concert readings based primarily on the work of minority group writers. She has edited an anthology of poetry called *Glowchild*, is co-author with Jules Dassin and Julian Mayfield of the film *Uptight*.

She is a product of Harlem's American Negro Theatre, of the teachers Paul Mann, Lloyd Richards and Morris Carnovsky and of the New York Public School system, where she graduated from Hunter College with a B.A. She is the mother of three grown children - Nora, Guy and LaVerne.

ADDENDUM:

Ms. Dee is also the author of a soon to be produced work, *Take It From The Top*.

Side 1 Band 1

LYNCHING, OUR NATIONAL CRIME

By Ida M. Wells-Barnett

One of the most militant opponents of Booker T. Washington's philosophy of accommodation, a heroic fighter against discrimination, and the person who had more to do with originating and carrying out a crusade against lynching than any other was Ida May Wells. At the early age of nineteen, as editor of the *Memphis Free Press*, she began her campaign against lynching. Threatened by white-supremacists if she continued her exposure of lynching, she defied them but took care always to carry two pistols for protection. In 1892 she published an article revealing that the lynching of three successful Negro grocers was the work of their white competitors. Her press was destroyed and she would have been lynched had she not been in Philadelphia covering a convention. Miss Wells went to Chicago, where she joined the *Chicago Conservator* and then lectured throughout the Northern part of the United States and in Europe on lynching. She was among the first to point out the falsity of the charge of rape as "explaining" lynching. In 1894 she published *A Red Record*, the first book to document the crime of lynching. A year later, she married Ferdinand Lee Barnett, of Chicago, lawyer and later the first Negro assistant state's attorney in Illinois.

In 1898 she was the spokesman for a delegation of women and Congressmen to President McKinley to protest the lynching of a Negro postmaster. An active member of the Niagara Movement, she was also one of the signers of the call for the National Negro Conference in 1909 and later a founder of the N.A.A.C.P. Mrs. Wells-Barnett delivered the following address at the 1909 Conference.

The lynching record for a quarter of a century merits the thoughtful study of the American people. It presents three salient facts:

First: Lynching is color-line murder.

Second: Crimes against women is the excuse, not the cause.

Third: It is a national crime and requires a national remedy.

Proof that lynching follows the color line is to be found in the statistics which have been kept for the past twenty-five years. During the few years preceding this period and while frontier lynch law existed, the executions showed a majority of white victims. Later, however, as law courts and authorized judiciary extended into the far West, lynch law rapidly abated, and its white victims became few and far between.

Just as the lynch-law regime came to a close in the West, a new mob movement started in the South. This was wholly political, its purpose being to suppress the colored vote by intimidation and murder. Thousands of assassins banded together under the name of Ku Klux Klans, "Midnight Raiders," "Knights of the Golden Circle," et cetera, et cetera, spread a reign of terror, by beating, shooting and killing colored people by the thousands. In a few years, the purpose was accomplished, and the black vote was suppressed. But mob murder continued.

From 1882, in which year fifty-two were lynched, down to the present, lynching has been along the color line. Mob murder increased yearly until in 1892 more than two hundred victims were lynched and statistics show that 3,284 men, women and children have been put to death in this quarter of a century. During the last ten years from 1899 to 1908 inclusive the number lynched was 959. Of this number 102 were white, while the colored victims numbered 857. No other nation, civilized or savage, burns its criminals; only under the Stars and Stripes is the human holocaust possible. Twenty-eight human beings burned at the stake, one of them a woman and two of them children, is the awful indictment against American civilization—the gruesome tribute which the nation pays to the color line.

Why is mob murder permitted by a Christian nation? What is the cause of this awful slaughter? This question is answered almost daily—always the same shameless falsehood that "Negroes are lynched to protect womanhood." Standing before a Chautauqua assemblage, John Temple Graves, at once champion of lynching and apologist for lynchers, said: "The mob stands today as the most potential bulwark between the women of the South and such a carnival of crime as would infuriate the world and precipitate the annihilation of the Negro race." This is the never-varying answer of lynchers and their apologists. All know that it is untrue. The cowardly lyncher revels in murder, then seeks to shield himself from public execration by claiming devotion to woman. But truth is mighty and the lynching record discloses the hypocrisy of the lyncher as well as his crime.

The Springfield, Illinois, mob rioted for two days, the militia of the entire state was called out, two men were lynched, hundreds of people driven from their homes, all because a white woman said a Negro assaulted her. A mad mob went to the jail, tried to lynch the victim of her charge and, not being able to find him, proceeded to pillage and burn the town and to lynch two innocent men. Later, after the police had found that the woman's charge was false, she published a retraction, the indictment was dismissed and the intended victim discharged. But the lynched victims were dead. Hundreds were homeless and Illinois was disgraced.

As a final and complete refutation of the charge that lynching is

occasioned by crimes against women, a partial record of lynchings is cited; 285 persons were lynched for causes as follows:

Unknown cause, 92; no cause, 10; race prejudice, 49; miscegenation, 7; informing, 12; making threats, 11; keeping saloon, 3; practicing fraud, 5; practicing voodooism, 2; bad reputation, 8; unpopularity, 3; mistaken identity, 5; using improper language, 3; violation of contract, 1; writing insulting letter, 2; eloping, 2; poisoning horse, 1; poisoning well, 2; by white caps, 9; vigilantes, 14; Indians, 1; moonshining, 1; refusing evidence, 2; political causes, 5; disputing, 1; disobeying quarantine regulations, 2; slapping a child, 1; turning state's evidence, 3; protecting a Negro, 1; to prevent giving evidence, 1; knowledge of larceny, 1; writing letter to white woman, 1; asking white woman to marry, 1; jilting girl, 1; having smallpox, 1; concealing criminal, 2; threatening political exposure, 1; self-defense, 6; cruelty, 1; insulting language to woman, 5; quarreling with white man, 2; colonizing Negroes, 1; throwing stones, 1; quarreling, 1; gambling, 1.

Is there a remedy, or will the nation confess that it cannot protect its protectors at home as well as abroad? Various remedies have been suggested to abolish the lynching infamy, but year after year, the butchery of men, women and children continues in spite of plea and protest. Education is suggested as a preventive, but it is as grave a crime to murder an ignorant man as it is a scholar. True, few educated men have been lynched, but the hue and cry once started stops at no bounds, as was clearly shown by the lynchings in Atlanta, and in Springfield, Illinois.

Agitation, though helpful, will not alone stop the crime. Year after year statistics are published, meetings are held, resolutions are adopted and yet lynchings go on. Public sentiment does measurably decrease the sway of mob law, but the irresponsible blood-thirsty criminals who swept through the streets of Springfield, beating an inoffensive law-abiding citizen to death in one part of the town and in another torturing and shooting to death a man who for three score years had made a reputation for honesty, integrity and sobriety, had raised a family and had accumulated property, were not deterred from the heinous crimes by either education or agitation. The only certain remedy is an appeal to law. Law-breakers must be made to know that human life is sacred and that every citizen of this country is first a citizen of the United States and secondly a citizen of the state in which he belongs. This nation must assert itself and protect its federal citizenship at home as well as abroad. The strong men of the government must reach across state lines whenever unbridled lawlessness defies state laws and must give to the individual under the Stars and Stripes the same measure of protection it gives to him when he travels in foreign lands. Federal protection of American citizenship is the remedy for lynching. Foreigners are rarely lynched in America; if, by mistake, one is lynched the national government quickly pays the damages. The recent agitation in California against the Japanese compelled this nation to recognize that federal power must yet assert itself to protect the nation from the treason of sovereign states. Thousands of American citizens have been put to death and no president has yet raised his hand in effective protest. But a simple insult to a native of Japan was quite sufficient to stir the government in Washington to prevent the threatened wrong. If the government has power to protect a foreigner from insult certainly it has the power to save a citizen's life.

The practical remedy has been more than once suggested in Congress; Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire in a resolution introduced in Congress called for an investigation with the view of ascertaining whether there is a remedy for lynching which Congress may apply. The Senate committee has under consideration a bill drawn by A.E. Pillsbury, former Attorney General of Massachusetts, providing for federal prosecution of lynchers in cases where the state fails to protect citizens or foreigners. Both of these resolutions indicate that the attention of the nation has been called to this phase of the lynching question.

As a final word it would be a beginning in the right direction if this conference can see its way clear to establish a bureau for the

investigation and publication of the details of every lynching, so that the public could know that an influential body of citizens has made it a duty to give the widest publicity to the facts in each case, that it will make an effort to secure expressions of opinion all over the country against lynching for the sake of the country's fair name; and lastly, but by no means least, to try to influence the daily papers of the country to refuse to become accessory to mobs either before or after the fact. Several of the greatest riots and the most brutal burnt offerings of the mobs have been suggested and incited by the daily papers of the offending community. If the newspaper which suggests lynching in its accounts of an alleged crime, could be held legally as well as morally responsible for reporting that "threats of lynching were heard"; or, "it is feared that if the guilty one is caught, he will be lynched"; or, "there were cries of 'lynch him,'" and the only reason the threat was not carried out was because no leader appeared, "a long step toward a remedy will have been taken.

In a multitude of counsel there is wisdom. Upon the grave question presented by the slaughter of innocent men, women and children there should be an honest, courageous conference of patriotic, law-abiding citizens anxious to punish crime promptly, impartially and by due process of law, also to make life, liberty and property secure against mob rule.

Time was when lynching appeared to be sectional, but now it is national—a blight upon our nation, mocking our laws and disgracing our Christianity. "With malice toward none but with charity for all" let us undertake the work of making the "law of the land" effective and supreme upon every foot of American soil—a shield to the innocent; and to the guilty, punishment swift and sure.

Side 1 Band 2

BEN IS GOING TO TAKE HIS BIG BROTHER'S PLACE By Fannie Lee Chaney

In the summer of 1964, three young civil-rights workers—James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, the first a Negro from Meridian, Mississippi, and the others whites from New York City—were brutally murdered in Philadelphia, Mississippi. The three had been suddenly released from detention in the county jail so that they might be shot by an alerted white mob, which included the town officials. The parents of the boys all vowed to continue the struggle for which their sons had sacrificed their lives. In a moving speech at a memorial meeting in New York City, Fannie Lee Chaney, the mother of James Chaney, announced that she and the rest of her family were going to continue in the Movement, and that her son Ben would take his big brother's place.

I am here to tell you about Meridian, Mississippi. That's my home. I have been there all of my days. I know the white man; I know the black man. The white man is not for the black man—we are just there. Everything to be done, to be said, the white man is going to do it; he is going to say it, right or wrong. We hadn't, from the time that I know of, been able to vote or register in Meridian. Now, since the civil-rights workers have been down in Mississippi working, they have allowed a lot of them to go to register. A lot of our people are scared, afraid. They are still backward. "I can't do that; I never have," they claimed. "I have been here too long. I will lose my job; I won't have any job." So, that is just the way it is. My son, James, when he went out with the civil-rights workers around the first of '64 felt it was something he wanted to do, and he enjoyed working in the civil-rights movement. He stayed in Canton, Mississippi, working on voter registration from February through March. When he came home he told me how he worked and lived those few weeks he was there; he said, "Mother, one half of the time, I was out behind houses or churches, waiting to get the opportunity to talk to people about what they needed and what they ought to do." He said, "Sometime they shunned me off and some would say, 'I want you all to stay away from here and leave me

alone." But he would pick his chance and go back again. That is what I say about Mississippi right now. There is one more test I want to do there. I am working with the civil-rights movement, my whole family is, and my son, Ben, here, he is going to take his big brother's place.

He has been working for civil rights. Everything he can do, he does it. For his activities, he had been jailed twice before he was twelve years old. He told me when he was in jail he wasn't excited. He is not afraid; he would go to jail again! I am too, because we need and we've got to go to jail and we've got to get where the white man is. The white man has got Mississippi and we are just there working for the white man. He is the one getting rich. And when he gets rich, we can be outdoors or in old houses and he is going to knock on the door and get his rent money.

This is not something that has just now started. It has been going on before my time and I imagine before my parents' time. It is not just now the white man is doing this; it was borne from generation to generation. So, as I say, Ben is going to take his big brother's place, and I am with him and the rest of the family also. You all read about Mississippi—all parts of Mississippi—but I just wish it was so you could just come down there and be able to see; just try to live there just for one day, and you will know just how it is there.

Side 1 Band 3

IT IS TIME FOR A CHANGE By Shirley Chisholm

Shirley St. Hill Chisholm was born in 1925 in Brooklyn, New York. She has been a teacher, director of nursery schools and child-care centers and a lecturer in education at Brooklyn College. She was elected to the New York State Assembly in 1964 and served there until her election to Congress. Mrs. Chisholm was elected from the 12th Congressional District, centered in the heavily black Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood. Assigned to a House Agricultural subcommittee on Forestry and Rural Villages, she fought to change her assignment to something more relevant to her Bedford-Stuyvesant community, and she was assigned to the Veterans Affairs Committee.

In her first speech before the House of Representatives, March 26, 1969, the first black woman member of Congress, known as Fighting Shirley Chisholm, called for a change in American values and priorities. She vowed to vote "No" on every money bill that came before the House until the nation "starts to use its strength, its tremendous resources, for people and peace, not for profits and war."

Mr. Speaker, on the same day President Nixon announced he had decided the United States will not be safe unless we start to build a defense system against missiles, the Headstart program in the District of Columbia was cut back for the lack of money.

As a teacher, and as a woman, I do not think I will ever understand what kind of values can be involved in spending nine billion dollars—and more, I am sure—on elaborate, unnecessary and impractical weapons when several thousand disadvantaged children in the nation's capital get nothing.

When the new administration took office, I was one of the many Americans who hoped it would mean that our country would benefit from the fresh perspectives, the new ideas, the different priorities of a leader who had no part in the mistakes of the past. Mr. Nixon had said things like this:

"If our cities are to be livable for the next generation, we can delay no longer in launching new approaches to the problems that beset them and to the tensions that tear them apart."

And he said, "When you cut expenditures for education, what you are doing is shortchanging the American future."

But frankly, I have never cared too much what people say. What I am interested in is what they do. We have waited to see what the new administration is going to do. The pattern now is becoming clear.

Apparently laughing those new programs can be delayed for a

while, after all. It seems we have to get some missiles launched first.

Recently the new Secretary of Commerce spelled it out. The Secretary, Mr. Stans, told a reporter that the new administration is "pretty well agreed it must take time out from major social objectives" until it can stop inflation.

The new Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Robert Finch, came to the Hill to tell the House Education and Labor Committee that he thinks we should spend more on education, particularly in city schools. But, he said, unfortunately we cannot "afford" to, until we have reached some kind of honorable solution to the Vietnam war. I was glad to read that the distinguished Member from Oregon (Mrs. Green) asked Mr. Finch this:

"With the crisis we have in education, and the crisis in our cities, can we wait to settle the war? Shouldn't it be the other way around? Unless we can meet the crisis in education, we really can't afford the war."

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird came to Capitol Hill, too. His mission was to sell the antiballistic-missile insanity to the Senate. He was asked what the new administration is doing about the war. To hear him, one would have thought it was 1968, that the former Secretary of State was defending the former policies, that nothing had ever happened—a President had never decided not to run because he knew the nation would reject him, in despair over this tragic war we have blundered into. Mr. Laird talked of being prepared to spend at least two more years in Vietnam.

Two more years, two more years of hunger for Americans, of death for our best young men, of children here at home suffering the life-long handicap of not having a good education when they are young. Two more years of high taxes, collected to feed the cancerous growth of a Defense Department budget that now consumes two thirds of our federal income.

Two more years of too little being done to fight our greatest enemies, poverty, prejudice and neglect, here in our own country. Two more years of fantastic waste in the Defense Department and of penny pinching on social programs. Our country cannot survive two more years, or four, of these kinds of policies. It must stop—this year—now.

Now, I am not a pacifist. I am deeply, unalterably opposed to this war in Vietnam. Apart from all the other considerations—and they are many—the main fact is that we cannot squander there the lives, the money, the energy that we need desperately here, in our cities, in our schools.

I wonder whether we cannot reverse our whole approach to spending. For years, we have given the military, the defense industry, a blank check. New weapons systems are dreamed up, billions are spent, and many times they are found to be impractical, inefficient, unsatisfactory, even worthless. What do we do then? We spend more money on them. But with social programs, what do we do? Take the Job Corps. Its failure has been mercilessly exposed and criticized. If it had been a military research and development project, they would have been covered up or explained away, and Congress would have been ready to pour more billions after those that had been wasted on it.

The case of Pride, Inc., is interesting. This vigorous, successful black organization, here in Washington, conceived and built by young inner-city men, has been ruthlessly attacked by its enemies in the government, in this Congress. At least six auditors from the General Accounting Office were put to work investigating Pride. They worked seven months and spent more than \$100,000. They uncovered a fraud. It was something less than \$2,100. Meanwhile, millions of dollars—billions of dollars, in fact—were being spent by the Department of Defense, and how many auditors and investigators were checking into their negotiated contracts? Five.

We Americans have come to feel that it is our mission to make the world free. We believe that we are the good guys, everywhere—in Vietnam, in Latin America, wherever we go. We believe we are the good guys at home, too. When the Kerner Commission told white America what black America had always known, that prejudice and

hatred built the nation's slums, maintain them and profit by them, white America would not believe it. But it is true. Unless we start to fight and defeat the enemies of poverty and racism in our own country and make our talk of equality and opportunity ring true, we are exposed as hypocrites in the eyes of the world when we talk about making other people free.

I am deeply disappointed at the clear evidence that the number-one priority of the new administration is to buy more and more weapons of war, to return to the era of the cold war, to ignore the war we must fight here—the war that is not optional. There is only one way, I believe, to turn these policies around. The Congress can respond to the mandate that the American people have clearly expressed. They have said, "End this war. Stop the waste. Stop the killing. Do something for your own people first." We must find the money to "launch the new approaches," as Mr. Nixon said. We must force the administration to rethink its distorted, unreal scale of priorities. Our children, our jobless men, our deprived, rejected and starving fellow citizens must come first.

For this reason, I intend to vote "No" on every money bill that comes to the floor of this House that provides any funds for the Department of Defense. Any bill whatsoever, until the time comes when our values and priorities have been turned right side up again, until the monstrous waste and the shocking profits in the defense budget have been eliminated and our country starts to use its strength, its tremendous resources, for people and peace, not for profits and war.

It was Calvin Coolidge, I believe, who made the comment that "the Business of America is Business." We are now spending eighty billion dollars a year on defense—that is two thirds of every tax dollar. At this time, gentlemen, the business of America is war, and it is time for a change.

Side 1 Band 4

WE NEED TO BE UNITED

By Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.

On April 22, 1970, at the twenty-second Automobile Workers' Constitutional Convention in Atlantic City, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., accepted the United Automobile Workers' Social Justice Award to her late husband. Here are excerpts from the speech she delivered in response.

It is a heart-warming privilege to accept this posthumous award to my husband from an organization that always made itself part of our struggle whether the scene of action was in Birmingham, Selma, Detroit or Washington....

Before moving on to my principal topic, because the men at this convention outnumber the women, I would like to call to their attention that this year, 1970, marks the fiftieth anniversary of woman's suffrage. This landmark amendment to the constitution was a vastly important step in the liberation of women, but unfortunately even now, half a century after its enactment, it is only partially effective. Not until the fifties and sixties did black women become voters in large numbers despite the mandates of the law. It is also noteworthy that the five states which rejected the Nineteenth Amendment were all Southern states, once again demonstrating where the roots of reaction are in the nation....

My husband in his lifetime, as many of you know, had a special affinity for the labor movement. His understanding of society was too profound to permit him to be caught up in superficial prejudices. Though part of the labor movement has joined in the oppression of black people, another part of it pioneered in welding a coalition of rights and opportunities. He knew both truths. My husband knew that in much of basic industry black people through unions have relatively more freedom than in other sectors of the economy.

His memorial thus could not be merely a shrine, though it had to be that. It developed from planning, necessarily complex as he was complex.

It is not an accident that my husband was assassinated while lead-

ing a strike, nor is it coincidental that the time of his assassination came when he was calling for a coalition of all the poor black and white, and urging that they create a union organization. He was arousing a sleeping giant when he was cut down.

The trade-union movement was never a movement merely to protect and advance living standards. It had noble objectives beyond these limitations. From its birth it sought to attain social justice in its broadest sense. A wage increase was important, but important too was its elevating effect on human dignity. It was under that banner that the U.A.W. made workers more than mere appendages to machines and attained for them the status of dignified, proud men. When the U.A.W. in the thirties made trade-unionism an instrument of social reform, it won the respect of a majority of the nation. In holding today to this larger vision of the trade-union movement, it is providing the base of leadership desperately needed in a divided and confused land.

It was your union and others of the C.I.O. that pioneered to admit black people to your ranks. By standing for equal justice you not only opened doors to blacks, but you defeated the employer's strategy to make black people a distinct group of strike-breakers. Thus you strengthen yourselves while you enlarge the democratic rights of others.

We would be less than candid, however, if we refused to recognize that the coalition of blacks and the trade-union movement faces tensions.

Some trade-unionists are hostile to the freedom movement, and some blacks are spreading the illusion that a separatist road exists in the journey to emancipation. Even worse, some blacks out of frustration and despair play with notions of terrorism, and some whites are no less drawn to solutions of violence.

It is not black workers or white workers who will profit if they fight each other. Only those will profit who wish to dominate all workers. Blacks are not looking for advancement at the expense of other working people. Industry and government have enough control of wealth to provide decent employment for every man, black and white. If we don't identify the right problems and isolate the right adversary, we will all play the role of fools. Our trade-unions torn by division can lose their independence, fighting strength and leadership.

More than ever in the past we need to be united, because in all the dimensions of our lives, not just in race relations, we are in serious jeopardy. It is an illusion to think routine or formal trade-unionism can solve the vast problems of society today. Indeed, today a union need not be broken to become ineffectual; your living standards are not solely in your wage envelope....

Taxes, swollen by an insane war in Vietnam, can shrink the envelope as you hold it in your hand. Inflation empties it further. Beyond these, the quality of life is diminished by the dying of our cities. Though our nation is the richest on the earth, and more opulent than any in world history, our slums are among the worst of any industrial nation. Our health services are primitive compared with European standards. We are choked by transportation, sickened by poisoned air and polluted rivers, lakes and seaways. The leisure time you fought for is nullified by narrowed opportunities for recreation and relaxation. Before long, the shortage of water and the diminished volume of breathable air will begin to threaten the lives of all.

We are now surrounded by dirt, congestion and impure air in all walks of our daily life, which you fought to eliminate in the factories because they were barbarous and inhuman.

Today, April 22, is an appropriate day to mention these things, because it is Earth Day, designed to remind all people that our planet can die.

Trade-unions will have to come out of the plants and move on the state houses and centers of power if our nation is to survive. We are at a new crossroads of responsibility. You who make the wheels of society turn will have to apply your strength and dynamism to broader social problems, if a suicidal course is to be avoided.

The whole population cannot flee to the suburbs, or they too will become the inner city. In many suburbs unmanageable problems are catching up.

Thus, black communities and white communities will have to unite and write new laws of urban development. If they fail, America has to go into a decline no matter what wage scales it can afford, and many of the features of the nineteenth-century mill towns in all their bleakness and ugliness will overtake our cities. We will see again the dark, dismal municipalities where families cannot breathe, children cannot play or learn, order cannot be maintained because it is cheaper to let some live in squalor while others seek individual havens of retreat.

To fight the decomposition of the cities, to fight poisoned air, accumulating garbage, filthy rivers and dying schools constitutes the battle of the seventies. You fought out of the depression thirties for yourselves and everyone. You will have to repeat that victory, if an expanding industrial nation almost out of control is not to stagger into social catastrophe.

This social leadership is not special responsibility, first of all because it involves your own direct interests. More than this, you have the power, experience and a tradition of moral sense. This nation was in a more severe moral crisis in the thirties, when it was rescued by the vision and boldness of the young labor movement. The nation needs that quality of leadership today as it faces new perils. Black people in the majority are ready for a new crusade for radical reform; they will be a powerful force in a militant struggle for decent conditions of life, and they are ready for an honorable partnership in a progressive coalition. Divided, neither one of us can win; deluded by myths and prejudices, we will fail; but united we can put this nation together and restore social sanity, inspire hope and achieve the interracial harmony my husband always believed was possible.

I think such a crusade of decency and progress is also part of a memorial to Martin Luther King. He believed people would always fight for their rights against all prophets of doom and despair. As long as we lift ourselves to new heights of human dignity and equality the sacrifice will deepen in meaning and his life will be renewed in our own growth and development.

Side 2 Band 1

I AM A BLACK REVOLUTIONARY WOMAN

By Angela Davis

In the spring of 1969, Angela Davis, a graduate student at the University of California, San Diego, accepted a two-year contract as Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, Los Angeles. When it was discovered she was a member of the Communist party, the Regents voted to dismiss her under a twenty-nine-year-old university rule barring employment of Communists. Miss Davis gained the support of faculty and students, and on October 20, 1969, a Superior Court judge ruled that the dismissal was unconstitutional and ordered Miss Davis reinstated. On June 8, 1970, the Regents voted not to renew her contract for the coming year, this time citing her "extramural activities" on behalf of the Soledad Brothers and the Black Panther party. The U.C.L.A. faculty voted to support Miss Davis and even to pay her salary out of their own pockets.

In August, 1970, Jonathan Jackson, the brother of one of the three black "Soledad Brothers"—so named for California's notorious Soledad prison, where they had been accused of murdering a white guard—invaded a courtroom in Marin County. He took several hostages, including a judge, and demanded the release of the prisoners. The guards opened fire, and Jackson and the judge were killed. Angela Davis was later charged with buying the guns used by young Jackson. Placed on the F.B.I.'s "ten most-wanted" list, Miss Davis, who had gone into hiding, was arrested in New York City on October 13, 1970. Indicted by a Marin County grand jury, which charged her with conspiracy, kidnapping and murder, Miss Davis was sneaked out of prison in New York City and extradited to California to await trial. On January 13, 1971, the N.A.A.C.P.'s National Board officially announced: "We are appalled at the obvious effort to deny the presumption of innocence and thereby

convict Miss Angela Davis of murder long before the first witness had been called. We are deeply concerned that the American judicial system provide a fair trial for a young, black American woman who admits to being a member of the Communist party." The Board warned the State of California "that we shall watch closely the trial of Miss Davis and we invite the whole nation to do likewise.... We call on all other Americans, black and white, to join us in assuring a fair and impartial trial for Miss Davis." Protests demanding either a fair trial or the release of Miss Davis poured into this country from all parts of the world.

What follows is a statement made by Angela Davis while she was in prison.

Before anything else I am a black woman. I dedicated my life to the struggle for the liberation of black people—my enslaved, imprisoned people.

I am a Communist because I am convinced that the reason we have been forcefully compelled to eke out an existence at the very lowest level of American society has to do with the nature of capitalism. If we are going to rise out of our oppression, our poverty, if we are going to cease being the targets of the racist-minded mentality of racist policemen, we will have to destroy the American capitalist system. We will have to obliterate a system in which a few wealthy capitalists are guaranteed the privilege of becoming richer and richer whereas the people who are forced to work for the rich, and especially Black people never take any significant step forward.

I am a Communist because I believe that black people with whose labor and blood this country was built have a right to a great deal of wealth that has been hoarded in the hands of the Hugheses, the Rockefellers, the Kennedys, the DuPonts, all the superpowerful white capitalists of America.

Further, I am a Communist because I believe black men should not be coerced into fighting a racist, imperialist war in Southeast Asia, where the United States government is violently denying a nonwhite people the right to control their own lives just as they violently suppressed us for hundreds of years.

My decision to join the Communist party emanated from my belief that the only true path of liberation for black people is the one that leads toward a complete and total overthrow of the capitalist class in this country and all its manifold institutions, appendages which insure its ability to exploit the masses and enslave black people. Convinced of the need to employ Marxist-Leninist principles in the struggle for liberation I joined the Che-Lumumba Club, which is a militant, all-black collective of the Communist party in Los Angeles committed to the task of rendering Marxism-Leninism relevant to black people. But mindful of the fact that once we as black people set out to destroy the capitalist system we would be heading in a suicidal direction if we attempted to go at it alone. The whole question of allies was crucial. And furthermore aside from students we need important allies at the point of production. I do not feel that all white workers are going to be inveterate conservatives. Black leadership in working class struggles is needed to radicalize necessary sectors of the working class.

The practical perspective of the Che-Lumumba Club is based on an awareness of the need to emphasize the national character of our people's struggle and to struggle around the specific forms of oppression which have kept us at the very lowest levels of American society for hundreds of years, but at the same time to place ourselves as black people in the forefront of a revolution involving masses of people to destroy capitalism, to eventually build a socialist society and thus to liberate not only our own people but all the downtrodden in this country. And further recognizing the international character of the revolution especially in this period when the battle against our home-grown capitalists is being carried out all over the world, in Indochina, Africa, and Latin America. My decision to join the Communist party was predicated in part on the ties the party has established with revolutionary movements throughout the world....

The American judicial system is bankrupt. In so far as black people are concerned, it has proven itself to be one more arm of a

system carrying out the systematic oppression of our people. We are the victims, not the recipients of justice.

It is obvious that democracy in America is hopelessly deteriorated, when the courts, allegedly guardians of the rights of the people, have been enlisted to play an active role in the genocidal war against black people.

We must reject the right of the courts to further oppress us. The only way we can get justice is demand it and to create a mass movement which will give notice to our enemy that we will use all means at our disposal to secure justice for our people. This is the only way we can expect to free all our brothers and sisters held captive in America's dungeons. This is the only way we can expect to ultimately gain total liberation....no revolutionary should fail to understand the underlying significance of the dictum that the success or failure of a revolution can almost always be gauged by the degree to which the status of women is altered in a radical, progressive direction. After all, Marx and Engels contended that there are two basic facts around which the history of mankind revolves: production and reproduction. The way in which people obtain their means of subsistence on one hand, and the way in which the family is organized on the other hand.

Further, if it is true the outcome of a revolution will reflect the manner in which it is waged, we must unremittingly challenge anachronistic bourgeois family structures and also the oppressive character of women's role in American society in general. Of course, this struggle is part and parcel of a total revolution. Led by women, the fight for the liberation of women must be embraced by men as well. The battle for women's liberation is especially critical with respect to the effort to build an effective black liberation movement. For there is no question about the fact that as a group, black women constitute the most oppressed sector of society.

Historically we were constrained not only to survive on an economic level as slaves, but our sexual status was that of a breeder of property for the white slave master as well as being the object of his perverse sexual desires. Our enemies have attempted to mesmerize us, to mesmerize black people, by propounding a whole assortment of myths with respect to the black woman. We are inveterate matriarchs, implying we have worked in collusion with the white oppressor to insure the emasculation of our men. Unfortunately, some black women have accepted these myths without questioning their origin and without being aware of the counter-revolutionary content and effect. They're consequently falling into behind-the-scenes positions in the movement and refuse to be aggressive and take leadership in our struggle for fear of contributing to the oppression of the black male.

As black women, we must liberate ourselves and provide the impetus for the liberation of black men from this whole network of lies around the oppression of black women, which serve only to divide us, thus impeding the advance of our total liberation struggle.

I think it is important to link up the struggle for my freedom with the fight to free other black political prisoners....I maintain that the fight should call for the freedom of all black men and women. For few of us have received fair trials. We certainly have not been judged by juries from among our peers.

Even if I am eventually allowed to leave the dungeon, I will not consider myself free. My freedom will become a reality when we as a people have destroyed our enemies, when we black people have broken the yokes of our oppression and can freely erect a society which reflects our needs and our dreams. I will not be free until all black people are free.

Side 2 Band 2

THE RIGHT TO A DECENT LIFE AND HUMAN DIGNITY

By Coretta Scott King

In December, 1970, Cesar Chavez, leader of the movement to organize the exploited Chicano (Mexican-American) agricultural workers in the lettuce fields, was held in jail for twenty days in connection with the lettuce strike. During that time, Mrs. Coretta

King, widow of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., visited Chavez in jail. Afterward, she addressed two thousand farm workers. Her speech was published in *El Malcriado*, the organ of the United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee, January 15, 1971.

As I was preparing to leave my home in the east, the President of the United States was involved in a unique ceremony. On Wednesday he was publicly celebrating the reaching of the trillion dollars mark in the annual output of American goods and services. The trillion dollars is a lot of money—one thousand billion dollars—so much it is hard to understand. But what is easy to understand is that even with such fabulous wealth there is poverty in this country.

A trillion dollar economy takes care very handsomely of the people at the top. It takes care generously of the people near the top. It rewards people in the middle, but it starves and brutalizes people at the bottom. The weight is like a mountain crushing millions who are below it and especially those poor who are Black, Brown and Red.

We live in a day when great unions are institutionalized in the structure of our society. This means in ordinary terms that the long established unions no longer have to fight to survive. They are recognized and accepted and certainly they should be. They no longer lose strikes, they struggle only for a greater share of the proceeds of their work.

Yet your union, in this day, fights to live. Those who control the billion dollar economy have said Blacks and Chicanos do not have the right to a decent life or to human dignity. They must live on the crumbs from the tables groaning with food.

For more than thirty years farm workers were thought to be un-organizable and so powerless they could not demand and achieve security and dignity. But Cesar Chavez challenged the tyrants, organized the working poor and became a threat, so they have jailed him. But as my husband so often said, "You cannot keep truth in a jail cell." Truth and justice leap barriers, and in their own way, reach the conscience of the people. The men of power thought my husband was a powerless man with grandiose ideas. He had nothing but an idea that people at the bottom could be aroused to fight for dignity and equality.

The power structure became alarmed when his ideas were transformed into marching millions and the right to vote, the right to use facilities, the right to jobs, and the right to private dignity were won.

Our struggle, like yours—that is, the struggle of Black people—could not be won by us alone, we had to find allies among the Americans of good will, Black, Brown, and White, who are ashamed of poverty in a trillion dollar economy. That is why your boycotts have succeeded. While some Americans are willing to forget the poor and if necessary suppress them with violence and brutality, there are still many Americans who cannot live with the immorality of inequality.

They believe the heritage of this nation is decency and fair play. They would not eat grapes when grapes became a symbol of oppression and they will not eat lettuce, now that it has become tainted with injustice.

Social progress has always come when the people on the bottom, who in organized strength and from the foundation shook the whole structure. Social change does not come from voluntary good will and charity from the top. It comes from motion at the bottom.

Black people and Brown people are herded at the bottom and told to be quiet and to wait for slow change. But change has never come to us in waiting. Waiting has multiplied the profits of the rich, but it deadens and depresses those below.

We are tens of millions strong, and waiting not only offends our dignity, but leaves us in deprivation. We know our own history, waiting and patience have resulted in economic exploitation and racial abuse, and finally together, we have said there is an end to waiting.

We are not enemies of the nation, but we are treated as if we were conquered and enslaved. We have fed and clothed the nation by our sweat and toil but our share in its goods is the share of prisoners.

Now we will win our common fight because we are more united and have more mutual respect than ever in our history and because in mass ranks, we are moving forward.

I hope as we look for allies, we will give special attention to women. First of all most women in this country, like nonwhites, are not equal. They can understand our profound need for freedom and equality. They also have special power to make a boycott punishing for the exploiters. It is they who buy lettuce and when lettuce becomes the symbol of inequality and oppression, woman will know that they, too, have a stake in our struggle.

In closing I want to express a personal note. I do not have to read books or stimulate my imagination to understand how grueling it is to work in a sun-baked field all day. I was born on the land in rural Alabama and worked in the cotton fields. Although my family owned the land, the system was organized to keep the earning from cotton too low to maintain an adequate subsistence. My father worked two jobs in advance, and he managed to educate his children and provide security. Often I think what a remarkable man he is and what a greater contribution he would have made to society if it had given him opportunities that it gave to others.

There have been in such plays as *Anna Lucasta: A Spirit in the Sky*, *So Long at the Fair*, by Athol Fugard, *Shirley* with her own *Shirley*, *Two Strangers* and *Wedding Band*, for which she won the Pulitzer Prize.

She is currently heard on 65 stations throughout the country on the *Black Book* sponsored *Ortiz Davis and Ruby Dee Story Hour* over the National Black Network. She and her husband recently filmed "Countdown at Kusini" in Nigeria, under the sponsorship of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. She has recorded poems and stories for *Goodman, Edson, Audio-Visual, Columbia* and others. She and her husband have also co-produced a television special for you, *Today Is Our*, based on her play *Today Is Our*. Her current readings listed primarily on the work of minority group writers. She has edited an anthology of poetry called *Glowchild*, is co-author with Jules Dassin and Billie Holiday on the film *Black and White*.

She is a product of Harlem's American Negro Theatre, of the writers Paul Robeson, Lloyd Richards and Maria Carmichael and of the New York Public School system. She is a graduate of the New York College with a B.A. in the field of Negro drama. She is married to Ruby Dee and has two children - Nora, Guy and LeVane.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Ruby Dee is also the author of a soon to be produced work, *Take It From The Top*.

Star 1 and 1

LYNCHING, OUR NATIONAL CRIME

By Dr. M. Wells-Barnett

One of the most militant opponents of Booker T. Washington's philosophy of accommodation, a heroic fighter against discrimination, and the person who had more to do with organization and carrying out a crusade against lynching than any other woman, Mary Wells-Barnett, at the early age of nineteen, as editor of the *Memphis Free Press*, began her campaign against lynching. Threatened by white supremacists if she continued her exposure of lynching, she determined her first care always to carry two pistols for protection. In 1892 she published an article revealing that the lynching of these two Negro grocers was the work of their white competitors. Her house was destroyed and she would have been lynched had she not fled in Philadelphia covering a convention. Mrs. Wells went to Chicago where she joined the Chicago Committee and then lectured throughout the Southern part of the United States and in Europe on lynching. She was among the first to point out the fallacy of the "lynching is necessary" argument. She was the first to demand the arrest of the lynchers. A year later she married Ferdinand Lee Barnett, of Chicago, lawyer, and later became his assistant state's attorney in Illinois.

So I know that among you your children are undiscovered, undeveloped people of talent. Cesar Chavez is not an accident; he is a genius of his people and their union, the farm workers union, is a hero union. When you have succeeded in making your lives more secure and richer, the whole nation will benefit. That is why your struggle has deeper dimensions than a strike for wages. You are demanding a place in the halls of man. You are saying there are no lowly people, there are only people who are forced down.

If this nation can produce a trillion dollars every year, it is a disgrace in the eyes of God that some people should be haunted by hunger and hounded by racism. The President of the United States should not gloat and take pride in a trillion dollar economy. He should be ashamed and mortified to acknowledge that abundance exists while the system producing it still cheats the poor. His days should be restless until the crime and violence of poverty is rooted out of the land rich beyond imagination. While the President stands before the flashing lights of the computer that says a trillion dollars, we stand before a dark jail that says oppression. America cannot be both and be America.

During the years preceding this period and while frontier justice law existed, the executioner showed a special regard for white victims. In the West, lynch law rapidly ebbed, and it was white victims who became few and far between.

As the lynch-law regime came to a close in the West, a new and government started in the South. This was wholly political, its purpose being to suppress the colored vote by intimidation and murder. Thousands of guerrillas banded together under the name of Ku Klux Klan, "Midnight Riders," "Knights of the Golden Circle" and others, spread a reign of terror by beating, shooting and killing colored people. In a few years, the colored vote was suppressed, and mob violence continued.

From 1882, in which year fifty-two were lynched, down to the present time, the color line has been a solid one. Mob murder reached its height in 1892 when two hundred victims were lynched and statistics show that 1,204 men, women and children have been put to death in this quarter of a century. During the last year the number of lynchings was 757. Of this number 123 were white, while the colored victims numbered 632. No other nation, civilized or savage, knows its criminals, only under the Klan and KKK is the human balance possible. Twenty-eight human beings burned at the stake, one of them a woman and two of them children. Is the awful indictment against American civilization—the gruesome tribute which the nation pays to the color line.

Why is mob murder permitted by a Christian nation? What is the cause of this awful slaughter? This question is answered almost daily—always the same shameless falsehood that "lynching is justified to protect womanhood." Standing before a Christian audience, John Temple Graves, at one champion of lynching and an ardent for lynching, said: "The mob stands today as the most powerful bulwark between the women of the South and such a course of crime as would infuriate the world and precipitate the annihilation of the Negro race." This is the never-varying answer of lynchers and their apologists. All know that it is untrue. The cowardly lyncher revels in murder, then seeks to shield himself from public accusation by claiming devotion to woman. But truth is mighty and the lynching record discloses the hypocrisy of the lyncher as well as his crime.

In the Springfield, Illinois, mob raised for two days, the militia of the entire state was called out, two men were lynched, hundreds of people driven from their homes, all because a white woman said a Negro assaulted her. A mob went to the jail, tried to lynch the victim of her charge and, not being able to find him, proceeded to pillage and burn the town and to lynch two innocent men. Later, after the police had found that the woman's charge was false, she was released and the mob dispersed. The mob was dispersed.

As a final and complete refutation of the charge that lynching is

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